

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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October 13, 1950

THREEPENCE

LABOUR'S GROWING CONCERN ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY

"We are not the only peace-lovers"

—EMRYS HUGHES, MP

AREN'T we creating confusion in our own minds by talking about peace and assuming that other countries don't love peace as we do?"

So asked Emrys Hughes, MP, at a meeting of the Labour Pacifist Fellowship at Margate on Wednesday last week.

And were we not, he continued, inclined to be too smug and self-confident in putting the blame on the foreign policy of the Russians?

"You cannot divide the countries of the world into peace-loving democracies and war-mongers," he said.

Because the Russians had made big blunders, it did not always follow that our foreign policy had been right. At the present time there was among all the people of the world a deep hatred and fear of war and a deep longing for a policy which would remove the fear of war from mankind.

He was not satisfied that the Government's defence programme and foreign policy was in the best interests of peace.

"If Mr. Shinwell can give me a good, answerable Socialist case for his defence proposals, and Mr. Bevin for his foreign policy," he said, "my mind is still open to conversion."

"But the very fact that one quarter of the Party's constituencies share my views on re-armament make me think there is a growing concern about the way our foreign policy is being conducted."

The peace campaign of the Communist Party, he said, was attracting tremendous success because they were appealing to something which was very dear to the hearts of the people.

"We, as Socialists, must have a counter offensive," he added. "We must not let the people think that it is only Communists who are interested in peace."

Though he was a pacifist, he added, he was not a political simpleton, and when the Communists asked for his support he told them that they only wanted 50 per cent. peace—peace on their side. He wanted 100 per cent.

Building a warfare State.

He wanted to know what would be the result of spending £3,000 million in three years on armaments and how it would affect the housing programme and the social services.

"In another year we shall have to tell the people that we have changed that welfare state into a warfare state."

Mr. Hughes reminded the audience that Bevin had once said that the Russians had fought for peace with their feet when the men were returning from war.

"The British people have not voted for war with their feet, they are reluctant to go near the recruiting offices. To build up an army, we have to extend conscription."

Mrs. C. S. Ganley, MP for Battersea, spoke of the great struggle that English people had made to win peace since 1895.

"With the growth of the Labour movement and a greater understanding of people, we thought that we should be able to get together, not as a league of governments, but as a league of nations, with a common bond."

We must look to the United Nations organisation, said Mrs. Ganley. We do not get sufficient information about what they are only told of what they have failed to do.

"If we are going to get peace, we must establish understanding and friendship, not only to other people of the world the right to live and enjoy the standards of life that we expect."

The chairman, Mr. Reginald Sorensen, MP for Leyton, spoke of the need for showing the world an example of constructive democracy.

The surest way of getting through the Iron Curtain and awakening the people

THE LATEST BAN

Talks on civil defence or anything about war are to be banned at meetings of the Great Suffolk Federation of Women's Institutes. The women want to keep their meetings pleasant.

Star, Oct. 2, 1950

to another way of life is by setting an example, he said.

We had extended to Pakistan, India, Ceylon and Burma the right to be free and the power of example of our own government over the past five years had been very impressive.

If we were prepared to spend the money and time on bettering the conditions of life of the backward people of the world as we were prepared to spend on re-armament, it would be a greater step to peace."

NEXT WEEK IS PEACE WEEK IN BIRMINGHAM

FOR one week in the year the Birmingham Peace Council makes a sustained effort to change the general public's attitude of resigned fatalism to the present world situation.

Next week, October 15-21, is Birmingham Peace Week. It starts with a big meeting in the Town Hall on Monday, at which Ritchie Calder, Science Editor of the News Chronicle, and John Hoyland will speak, Ernest Haynes of the Birmingham Trades Council in the chair.

This will be followed during the week by meetings held by other bodies throughout the area, including one march or meeting and some lunch hour meetings in the Bull Ring.

Interviewed by Peace News, the Secretary of the Council, Ian Abbott, said that this Peace Week is far from being the whole story of the Council's activities. Meetings will continue throughout the year.

On November 18, for instance, a big delegate conference will be held at Friends House, Bull Street, to consider what steps can be taken to grip the public imagination with a vision of peace and reconciliation. Speakers there will be Vera Brittain, S. O. Davies MP, Rev. A. D. Belden and Dr. J. K. Fremlin. Representatives of the Foreign Office and the Embassies of China, USA and USSR have been invited.

Helping other Councils

The Council has assisted in an advisory capacity in setting up local peace councils in Coventry, Gloucester, Wolverhampton, Coseley and Walsall. Minutes are exchanged with other councils.

The following are the organisations represented on the Birmingham Peace Council:

Fellowship of Reconciliation; Peace Pledge Union; Friends Peace Committee; Women's International League; International Voluntary Service for Peace; Crusade for World Government; Christian Action Fellowship; Association of Scientific Workers; Socialist Medical Association; International Women's Day Committee; Birmingham Trades Council; Socialist Zionist Party; Christian Party; Nursery School Association of Great Britain.

UNARMED DEFENCE!

"One of the first recorded instances of obstruction to the survey of lands by the Maoris occurred at Waitara, Taranaki in 1859. It is recorded that 'no violence was used, but a crowd of the ugliest old women were sent literally to hug and kiss the surveyors off the field, destroy their pegs and obliterate the boundary lines they had cut.'"

—Journal of the Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors, New Zealand, Oct. 1950.

CLASSES FOR PEACE WORKERS

SPEECH Training and Current Affairs will form a combined course organised by the North London Peace Centre at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

The course, which is open to all concerned with peace, will commence at 7.30 p.m. on Tuesday, Oct. 31, and end in February, meeting every Tuesday.

"THE ASSEMBLY OF HOPE?"

Important back-stage work at U.N.

Behind-the-scenes activities now going on at the UN Assembly are full of promise for better world relations, writes Serge Fliegers, eminent U.S. writer on world affairs, who reports redoubled efforts for conciliation and an atmosphere of renewed hope among delegates.

A MUCH more promising outlook at the Assembly is reported by Serge Fliegers, notable linguist and Editor of Inter-Continental Press, in his dispatch as correspondent to Worldover Press.

The 1949 Assembly, he writes, was called the "Peace Assembly" by its President, General Romulo, 7 months before the Korean War.

The present gathering, he adds, could be nicknamed, more realistically, the "Assembly of Hope."

The importance of this meeting, he says, lies not so much in the flood of resolutions, speeches and formal reports, as in the enormous behind-the-scenes activity that is going on.

Every UN delegate he interviewed realises that the alternative to conciliation is conflagration. With few exceptions they have redoubled their efforts—working deep into the night and at weekends—to get together on an informal basis to find an answer to the question—war or peace?

He asked one of Vishinsky's close advisers bluntly: "Will we have war?"

The Soviet diplomat drew himself up and replied: "Do you mean to stand there and infer that we are planning for war? We are men like you, and like you we want to live!"

And a Polish delegate asserted that there is "a definite spirit of conciliation among the Soviet bloc."

There is no doubt, continues Mr. Fliegers, that the Russians came "in a much less ferocious mood." This is symbolised by pictures of Vishinsky shaking hands with Acheson, and by "the spectacle of deadpan Jacob Malik drinking Coca-Cola and forcing a grin to his face as he talks with a spokesman for a U.S. women's group."

He admits that "this new attitude" is regarded with caution by such men as John Foster Dulles and John Hickerson, Assistant Secretary of State, who take the

fairly common view that after the devastation they have suffered "the Soviet peoples are unprepared for another major war" and that the Soviets are "playing for time," etc., a view which he himself appears to endorse.

Accent on Reform

But he attaches great importance to "the accent on reform" which is "heard loudly in this Assembly."

In an interview with an unofficial observer from Red China, he was told:

"Communist China feels that it can work with the Soviet Union for an equitable basis for peace in the Far East. We would welcome nothing more than to have India join us in our endeavours."

"After all, the future of Asia lies with the Asiatics, and such proposals as Acheson's on land reform came too late and from too far away. The days of the white man in the Far East are definitely over."

Reds' Korean reforms must stand

General Romulo, another Asiatic, when interviewed, also insisted that Agrarian reforms must take place.

"In Korea, for example, the re-parcelling of land already accomplished by the Communists should not be undone, except that any further re-parcelling should be done democratically, by indemnities to former owners."

"In the whole of Asia," added General Romulo, "military victories are not enough. Sweeping reforms must take place, in order that the evils which led Koreans to follow the Communist flag will not be continued or renewed. We cannot win by force of arms alone."

Land reform, comments Mr. Fliegers, is one thing the delegates have learnt as an essential to peace.

"They have also learnt that unless they do their jobs supremely well, war is not

(Continued on back page)



"If anyone comes to your door and talks about peace, hold him and call the police."

—Radio announcement, Birmingham, Alabama, USA.

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HEAVEN HELPS THOSE . . .

THE Archbishops of Canterbury and York have appealed for a day of national prayer on United Nations Sunday, October 29, "for the preservation of mankind from the horrors of another war."

In their joint statement they say they are not content, as in previous years, to ask only for the guiding hand of God upon the deliberations and actions of the United Nations; they ask it now for all men, so "that all the forces in men's hearts which make for justice and good order may be strengthened and that peace may be maintained and established."

With this may be mentioned the similar appeal of Dr. William Farn-dale, Moderator of the Free Church Council, "in the confident expectation that there may be presented a united front at the throne of grace."



We feel that these appeals are made with an ever-increasing urgency and sincerity, and express the growing burden on the conscience of Christendom cast by the difficult and bewildering problem of war.

One might even say that this problem is now being faced genuinely and seriously by the Church for the first time since its beginnings, as a major moral problem, and is recognised by Church leaders as involving as grave a spiritual crisis as any in its history.

All this must be acknowledged, as well as our sympathy for the priests and ministers to whom their followers look for clarification and leadership.

Nevertheless, with all respect and in all seriousness, we would ask—What are these prayers really asking for, and what effect are they expected to have?

To put it bluntly—What is God supposed to do?

We have said that this year the appeals express a greater urgency than ever. They do; but at the same time they repeat the same fundamental contradictions.

The Archbishops' statement re-emphasises their former assertion that "Christians know that war and all that leads to it are contrary to the will of their Lord."

Yet in the previous paragraph they acknowledge the need to be prepared to "defend their freedom against possible aggression" by "measures of rearmament on a scale that will demand heavy sacrifices from all."

This is incoherent to all who are unstudied in religious dialectic.

Speaking for ourselves, all we can make of it is that Christians may go on preparing for war while God is acting independently in order to make their preparations abortive.

In other words, Christians may go on preparing to disobey the will of God while at the same time asking God, in spite of themselves and by some secret process in which they are not concerned, so to arrange matters that their disobedience will not occur.

God will indeed have to work in a mysterious way that wonder to perform.

We accept the ancient assurance that God understands all the workings of the human heart; but that should not absolve the human being from trying to make himself clear, even in his prayers.

"Please do for us what we do not intend to do for ourselves" seems a somewhat incoherent platform for a united front.

It is a nice theological problem, whether Divine Omnipotence can function without voluntary human co-operation. Pending authoritative opinion on this point, however, we would remind fellow-Christians of the rough-and-ready maxim: "Heaven helps those who help themselves."

And in pursuance of this we would suggest that if Christians want God to prevent war, they might prove the sincerity of their petition, as a first step, by immediately renouncing war themselves, and refusing to go on preparing to do what they all agree God has forbidden.

THE conference of the political party currently in power is an event of some importance for all of us no matter where our particular party allegiance lies. But, for my part, I find myself at present only able to indulge in rather disquieted and confused speculations about the Labour Party's Margate meetings.

It is, admittedly, a tricky business to try and assess the implications and achievements of a conference on the strength of other people's reports and criticisms, and these comments are therefore very possibly wide of the mark. But if I were a member of that Party, then I think my anxiety and sense of bewilderment would be yet more acute.

Trying, from the regular reports in The Times and the editorial comments of some of the weekly periodicals and of the Sunday papers, to get a clear picture of the conference, it seems to me—and I deliberately emphasise the personal nature of these remarks—that this great party is experiencing a deep and serious crisis.

What was it all about?

NOT that there were perhaps any startling developments, or that I am suggesting that there is any indication of the imminence of some sudden internal upheaval or spectacular breaking up.

But as one reads the accounts of the speeches and debates the question keeps rising in one's mind: what is all this talk really about?

It appeared to me that behind almost all the discussion there was another but by no means secondary issue at stake—that of party unity.

When unity is weakness

AND it is this striving for unity which may be a threat of great danger to the life of the party.

The moment comes sooner or later in the history of any group held together by common beliefs and principles, when its future strength or disruptions will depend upon whether it allows or is capable of growth and development or whether, regarding such growth as dishonest compromise and expediency, its members insist on the rigid enforcement of dogma without

Korea and public opinion in India and Pakistan

By Geoffrey Carnall

The writer is a former member of the Friends Service Unit in Calcutta.

THE British public probably does not realise the reaction of people in India and Pakistan to war news from Korea. Resentment against white domination is still strong, and the conflict in Korea is thus naturally interpreted as a war between White imperialism and an Asian nationalism.

News of bombing attacks on non-military targets has provided particularly persuasive confirmation of the hypocrisy of the ideals professed by the America-dominated UNO. A letter published in The Republic, a Calcutta weekly, on September 2, is representative:

"The recent reports of bombing by the American Air Force in Korea are startling. It has been reported that 170 persons have been killed in a direct hit on a sanatorium. Hospitals are bombed, schools are dashed to pieces and thousands have lost their lives as a result of the indiscriminate bombing on Korean towns and villages by the US Air Force. It once more reminds us of the horrors of the last world war and crimes committed by the Nazis. The tragedy is that all these acts are done in the name of UNO. It is high time that UNO realised the gravity of the situation and tried to put an end to the brutal acts that are being done under the UNO flag."

Cinema politics

Communist propaganda? Vigil, a Delhi weekly founded by Acharya J. B. Kripalani (a prominent member of the Congress Party), gives another explanation:

"Those who go to the movies for a bit of relaxation in the evening are regaled by the Paramount and British Movietone News Services with edifying sights of American bombers blasting Korean towns and villages. There is no doubt that at this rate peace will soon reign over Korea—peace of the graveyard."

"There is no cinema house in Delhi which screens a version of the other side. This may be taken as further evidence in support of our claim that India's foreign policy is independent of alignment with either bloc . . . for this Anglo-American gloating over destruction creates so much sympathy for the victims that in effect Russian propaganda is being done at American expense."

Behind these words lie memories of the Mutiny, when over whole districts villages were destroyed with their inhabitants, and when Englishmen gloated over their vengeance against the "damned niggers." Those memories still cast their shadow across Indo-British relationships and have been reinforced by more recent memories of the repression of the rebellion of 1942.

constantly taking thought to be sure that such dogma is still true and workable.

The obligation to compromise

THE resolution on foreign policy and the danger of war—condensed from resolutions submitted by two trade unions and 39 constituency Labour parties—needs a commentary to itself and to be considered point by point.

It contains some of those apparently mutually exclusive demands which are so often made in circumstances where, however free and able individuals may be to see an absolute distinction between right and wrong courses of action, groups exercising any sort of power and bearing responsibility for and towards others, are obliged to compromise, to shift ground even, and to choose perhaps between two or more courses none of which is likely to be more than partly good. It would be so much simpler if the strands of good and bad were less closely knitted or rather less hopelessly tangled as they are by the very nature of human kind.

Those conflicting pledges

THE pledge to support collective security through the United Nations must have distressed many people both inside and outside the Labour Party, and on the face of it makes nonsense of the pledge to support the limitation of armaments, the control of atomic energy and the outlawing of the use of all weapons of mass destruction—and yet . . . What other course is there, given the present situation, which does not carry with it even worse risks?

Do we perhaps have to accept—is it even possible to accept—such a measure without for one moment giving up the belief in the ultimate victories of other and more truly civilised ways towards peaceful settlements and peace itself?

Let us, as far as we can without the betrayal of integrity, avoid the formulation of an "either . . . or."

Democratic incongruities

IN the Sunday Times this week (October 8) Professor D. W. Brogan, writing about the position of the American Negro today, reminds us how, "It is easy, dangerously easy, to stress the incongruities of

American theory and American practice. . . ."

Such incongruities, for example, as the reasons which obliged Dr. Ralph Bunche, Nobel Prize winner, to decline the office of Assistant Secretary of State or made it necessary for the head of one CIO in Washington to change his hotel in order to be able to meet Negro union leaders, do indeed seem to betray avowed beliefs in the equality of men as pronounced in the Declaration of Independence.

Such glaring disparities between principle and practice are all too often used in a negative and stupid way, and often by people who should know better.

Principle must precede practice

IT is right and proper that we should always be uncomfortably conscious of all the many facts which expose, and sometimes very painfully, the difference between the ideal and the actual circumstances of human society, but the exposure ought not to be given the wrong sort of emphasis.

There is bound to be a great gap between ourselves and the vision we pursue, and indeed the vision itself probably changes and develops as we work towards the accomplishment of this or that part of the building of a better world.

If there is anything in the doctrine of progress, in any sense of the word, then surely it is inevitable that we, at any given moment in space and time, shall always be looking ahead with some sort of vision and understanding which are in advance of what we have already achieved. And so we shall never be able wholly to practise what we preach—there will also be something new to be attained.

Our readers' letters

In a letter to Peace News the writer says: "A paper that stands for a free press and democracy should publish all letters, even when it disagrees with them."

Owing to lack of space and an increased correspondence this is quite impossible. But we would like our correspondents to know that we do take note of opinions even when not published, and that lack of publication does not imply disagreement with the idea expressed.

Government for its inability to send soldiers and arms to Korea.

"At the same time, Pakistan's offer of 5,000 tons of wheat for South Korea is not likely to receive any great welcome from America's leaders, while the harassed US Secretary for Agriculture may well regard it as a subtle attempt to sabotage his plans for the disposal of America's food surplus.

"With almost every inch of available storage space in America taken up by unsaleable stocks of food, and with the war offering the long-awaited opportunity of selling it for a sufficient number of dollars, Pakistan's gesture can hardly be received in the friendly spirit in which it was made."

No doubt this is a bit malicious, but there is too much truth in the argument for it to be dismissed. Moreover, none of the papers quoted here is Communist; Communists call them "petit bourgeois."

There is more to be said for increasing expenditure on removing the causes of poverty in Asia than for putting it into armaments. That is the only way the West will win the allegiance of Asia.

LIGHT INTO DARKNESS

PACIFISTS are not above poking their noses into other people's business. We are glad to say.

It is a form of aggression we regard as legitimate.

Consistently with which habit, last week a number of Margate pacifists intruded themselves upon the Labour Party delegates as they emerged from a debate on foreign policy, and distributed among them nearly 1,000 copies of Peace News.

With a view to weakening any possible resistance to this attack, however, these copies were distributed free, with "Presentation Copy" printed on them. And as a result of this missionary effort, the small fund available for such activities is depleted by about £15.

If, therefore, you feel that the attempt to enlighten members of the Labour Party on the subject of foreign policy is worth the money (and personally I'd say it was worth millions), you may like to make a slightly larger contribution than usual to the Forward Fund.

If so, will you ear-mark "half for the special fund," so that we may be ready to grasp other such opportunities as may occur for illuminating the dark places of politicians' minds?

THE EDITOR

Contributions since Sept. 31: £14 16s. 1d. Total for 1950: £2,069 16s. 1d.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

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BABY - MINDING FOR PEACE

FOR the second year in succession members of the International Voluntary Service for Peace are organising in October a number of money-raising events—small and large—in aid of their work for peace in this country and abroad.

The "October Month" is designed to focus attention on the ever-present need for funds and it is hoped that results of these efforts by members to earn money: gramophone recitals, gardening, baby-minding, sales, whist-drives, dances, will do much to offset this need.

Indian effort

This year IVSP members have as a special spur to their efforts, the work of the team in India.

Leaving England in January, 1950, the small group of German, Swiss and British volunteers commenced work with the refugees of the partitioning at the new township being built at Faridabad, near Delhi, and at present in Khajjiar (Chamba State) they are helping to bring a water supply to an isolated village.

A number of Indians have worked with the team, and this, the second service in India—the first being in 1934—brings to realisation hopes and plans that have been in the minds of members for many years.

The year 1950 has seen twelve IVSP services in this country, from bomb-site clearance, to painting and decorating in Youth Hostels and Settlements—305 volunteers took part in services at home and abroad. The lack of funds, however, is a constant brake upon progress.

IVSP members and their friends know, for instance, that the greatest single factor preventing the enlargement of the India service and extension to Pakistan is lack of funds. Volunteers are selected and ready.

British headquarters are at 3 Cromwell Road, London, S.W.3.

The London Group of IVSP are to hold a Country Dance Party at Oxford House, Mape Street, Bethnal Green, on Saturday, Oct. 21, at 7.30 p.m. as their contribution to "October Month."

"Reconciliation" in 1951

Despite increasing paper and printing costs, "Reconciliation," the monthly journal of the Christian Pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation is to maintain its price at 6d. in 1951. It carries a Christian pacifist comment on current affairs each month as well as contributions from leading Christian pacifists. The annual subscription is 6s., per annum, post paid from, 38 Gordon Square, W.C.1.

PEACE MEETINGS IN BRITAIN

Dublin

TWICE in the last dozen years, Ireland has hit the headlines at the forefront of the news. The first time it was in connection with the activities of the IRA just before the war, and after the war over the sorely vexed question of partition.

It is very comforting to be able to report that pacifist activity in that land of dissension is far from non-existent, in fact in a small way it is very much alive.

The "All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade" is the name of the Irish pacifist movement which recently held a meeting in Dublin, addressed by Anthony C. Gilpin, (a member of the Secretariat of the UN Commission in Asia and the Far East) on "Economic Co-operation in the Far East."

"Pax," the organ of the movement,* reports him as having said that we in the West made the mistake of looking upon the UNO as chiefly composed of Western States; we sometimes forgot the enormous number of Asiatic members represented.

The extreme poverty of the majority of peasants in Eastern countries was stressed; it was difficult to amend these conditions in face of the tendency of population to rise. One got the impression of excellent work being done by the Commission in practical and economic fields, but retarded by the emergence of political issues arising from present tensions between the Great Powers.

The clear and dispassionate attitude of the speaker was refreshing, Pax reports, and he well deserved the chairman's grateful tribute for his admirable survey of such a wide and difficult subject.

"Pax" also contains a number of articles showing how pacifists in Ireland are thinking and how their thought is turning very much outwards away from parochial affairs to events in the world outside.

* From the Irish Anti-War Crusade, 20 Parkmore Drive, Terenure, Dublin (2s. 6d.).

London

"Non-Violence means Salvation and at-one-ment," quoted Hy. S. L. Polak from the sayings of Gandhi when he addressed a meeting of the Non-Violence Commission of the PPU at Dick Sheppard House on Sept. 23.

Mr. Polak, who was a co-worker and

friend of the Mahatma, spoke most movingly of Gandhi's earlier work and his years in South Africa. "Non-violence is of the strongest, not of the weak," he said.

Gloucester

MR. RITCHIE CALDER, Science Editor of the News Chronicle, author, broadcaster, and member of the National Peace Council, gave the Gloucester Peace Federation's "International Week" a notable send-off when he spoke about "Man Made Deserts" in the Wheatstone Hall last week.

Mr. Calder who recently returned from a UNESCO investigation into the causes of soil erosion and the possibilities of conservation, emphasised the gravity of the problem, and its impact on world trends.

He pointed out that the daily growth of the world's population was 60,000 new people "without ration books," and added that it was among the underfed and underprivileged class peoples of the world that foment started, hunger then becoming militant.

One third of the total earth surface north and south of the Equator was arid and non-productive. But the deserts of Africa and the Middle East could be reclaimed if correct measures were taken, Mr. Calder said.

Most of the desolation was due to man's own wantonness, lack of forethought and unintelligent exploitation.

Mr. Calder spoke enthusiastically of the success achieved by British, French and Israeli engineers and agricultural experts in spite of limited resources.

If half the ingenuity and capital that was used in locating oil in the Middle East were used instead in obtaining water the complexion of the desert would have long since changed.

The Rev. B. Golland, minister of Gloucester Unitarian Chapel, presided.

High Wycombe

Dr. Hilda von Klenze was the speaker at a meeting held at High Wycombe. She spoke of conditions in Germany that had led up to the war, and the present day situation.

The group of members present were deeply impressed and hope for another visit from the speaker. Ethel Lewis took the chair, and refreshments were provided by Constance and Dennis Crabtree.

Growing demand for PPU leaflets on Civil Defence

THE Peace Pledge Union has had printed 45,000 copies of the leaflet by Alex Comfort called "Civil Defence, what you should do now." Distribution has started outside London at Belfast, Stockport, Birmingham, Luton, Leeds, Dovercourt, Warrington, and Harrow.

COUNCIL REFUSES HALL FOR PACIFIST MEETING

THEIR local newspaper has given full publicity and editorial support in its leading article to a protest from the Stoke Newington Peace Pledge Union Group at the borough council's refusal to let the Assembly Hall for a public meeting organised by the branch.

In a "splashed" front-page story the Stoke Newington Observer published a statement by the Chairman of the Group, Hugh Brock, who said:

"While not denying the committee the right to refuse to let the Assembly Hall, I am disappointed at their veto of this meeting."

The Observer report continued:

The meeting should have been held on Wednesday night (Oct. 4); members of various churches and political organisations were to have been among the speakers. Mr. Brock says the group is non-political and has no connection with either the Communist Party or Union Movement.

"I received a note from the Town Clerk," he said, "telling me that the provisional booking was not confirmed by the committee. On asking him if he could give me any reason or grant me an interview, he wrote: 'I regret that I cannot give you any information as to why my general purposes committee decided not to let the hall.'"

ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

At the meeting it was intended to outline criticisms of the Government's proposals for preserving world peace. The group believe they have an alternative policy which might prevent the disaster of a third world war.

"If everyone had adopted the attitude of dismissing vital issues in the manner of the general purposes committee, would Wilberforce ever have roused public opinion to abolish slavery?" Mr. Brock asks; "Would we have had Trade Unionism; the abolition of child labour in the mines; votes for women?"

Speakers at the meeting were to have been The Rev. A. D. Belden, Dr. C. R. Woodard (Conservative member of Ealing Borough Council) and, it was hoped, a Labour MP, a Quaker and a Jewish speaker. Title of the meeting was "Which Way to Peace?"

The leading article of the Observer, which has a high reputation in the locality for impartiality and plain speaking, concluded:

"It may be that the people of Stoke Newington would not have agreed with the views being put forward—even by the Conservative speakers—but this is no reason why they should not be allowed to hear them. It looks dangerously as though the council is allowing itself to be stamped into curtailing the right of free speech in the borough."

The Group, with the support of the local Friends' Meeting, have made another application for the Assembly Hall (which seats 600 people) on November 15. This application will come before the General Purposes Committee at their next meeting.

APF's Annual Report

MORE PACIFISTS IN CHURCH OF ENGLAND

DURING the last year the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, which links together pacifist members of the Church of England, has been joined by 82 new members, according to the report of the General Secretary. These include a Bishop of the Episcopal Church of America, and 12 members have been ordained.

Resignations over the same period have numbered 17, but the total membership is now 2,380 including 382 clergy and 9 deaconesses.

Many of the members belong to local groups, of which there are 11 in Britain and 1 in New Zealand. Activities of the groups include discussion groups, devotional meetings and public meetings which are organised by the groups which eminent Anglicans and other pacifists are invited to address.

In his foreword to the annual report of the APF, Archdeacon Hartill says: "It seems clear that the perplexing problem of Korea is to be made the occasion of what is called re-armament."

He thinks the word "re-armament" is absurd "since the Great Powers are already spending on armaments sums which would have been regarded as fantastically absurd 40 years ago. What is meant is simply an acceleration of the existing armaments race."

"No-one has suggested that Soviet Russia and her friends will allow this acceleration by the Western Powers without corresponding efforts by themselves."

Statesmen seem to see no alternative to such a course of action which will lead to a Third World War. "There is no escape from this appalling prospect except by the total renunciation of war and the substitution for it of Christ's method of overcoming evil with good."

Redouble our efforts

"Non-pacifist policies are so totally bankrupt of hope that we should be encouraged to redouble our efforts to recall first the Church, and then the world, to sanity and to God."

A list of the local groups of the APF are printed below:

Battersea and S.W. London; Sec: F. E. Parker, 90 Peckham Hill St., London, S.E.15.

Bristol; Sec: Joan Bell, 4 West End, Bristol, 3.

Cambridge; Sec: K. M. Ibbotson, Friar House, 12 Benet St., Cambridge.

Central London; Sec: Doris Sims, 18 Alfred Rd., London, W.3.

Stockfosters and N. London; Sec: B. E. Meed, 98 Morley Hill, Enfield, Middlesex.

Wangston-on-Thames; Sec: Mary Aggett, 20 Cranes Park Avenue, Surbiton, Surrey.

Leicester; Sec: K. R. Wadd, 30 Landseer Rd., Leicester.

Stoke-on-Trent; Sec: A. M. Brown, "Cranwood," Oakhill Avenue, Oakhill, Stoke-on-Trent.

Streatham; Sec: C. C. Bratt, 53 Glencairn Rd., London, S.W.16.

Sutton and Epsom; Sec: H. Dice, 5 Gauntlett Rd., Sutton.

Yorkshire; Sec: C. B. Underwood, College of Resurrection, Mirfield, Leeds.

FOOTNOTE: The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship are holding a public meeting in the King's Weigh House Church Hall on Friday, Oct. 20, at 7 p.m.

Speakers will include the Chairman of the APF, Archdeacon Hartill and the Rev. Douglas Wollen on "The Church and the International Situation."

Is your answer "Yes"—or "No"?

Do you think that somehow war has to be abolished?

Do you feel convinced that "the man in the street" is pretty much the same all over the world?

Do you believe that no country ever admits that it is an "aggressor," but only goes to war to "defend" itself?

Do you believe that armies only exist because people can be made afraid of "the other fellow"?

Do you believe, if you are a Christian, that Christ meant what he said about "turning the other cheek," and "loving your enemies"?

Do you agree with Dr. Donald Soper who said that he would rather see the world over-run by Communists than plunged into a third world war?

Would you accept hardship and persecution rather than take part in a war?

If you can answer "Yes" to any of the above questions, then can you sign this pledge: "I renounce war and will never support or sanction another," and join the thousands of members of the Peace Pledge Union in Britain and the thousands more all over the world who are members of the War Resisters' International of which the PPU is the British section?

If your answer is "No" or "Don't know," it will still be worth while to write for further information about the PPU. If your answer was "Yes," you will, of course, write today to

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1

THE HYDROGEN BOMB

To be, or not to be

IN his autobiography, "Twenty-five Years," Lord Grey of Falloden gave it as his opinion that the First War was caused fundamentally by the arms-race which had started, some years before 1914, between Great Britain and Germany, in the sphere of naval construction. The arms-race of the later thirties led directly to the war of 1939.

Farther back in history there have been numerous other instances of the fact that the competitive building-up of armaments, between two great sovereign states, or groups of states, can have only one result, the use of those armaments in war.

There is abundant evidence also, presented for instance in the important book on the *Private Manufacture of Armaments* written by our present Minister for Commonwealth Affairs, to show that there are sinister financial interests heavily involved in the creation and fomenting of such competitive arms-building programmes.

The atomic arms-race, which has been going on behind the scenes for a considerable time, became generally acknowledged in Sept. 1949, when it was officially disclosed to the United States that the Russians have the secret of the production of atomic energy. It has been almost universally taken for granted, on our side, that possessing this secret, the Russians will be using it to make bombs—though indeed the Russians themselves have never acknowledged that they are so doing.

The price of destruction

In January 1950 it became known in the United States that for the comparatively trifling sum of \$300 million the hydrogen bomb may be developed and manufactured. This latest perversion of scientific skill has, or is said to have, no useful peacetime purposes, comparable with those which the previous atomic discoveries possess in relation to the providing of energy and the curing of disease. It will be purely destructive, but of unprecedented efficacy in that sphere.

As with the milder prototypes of atomic bombs, there is no proof that the Russians are either making hydrogen bombs, or are industrially equipped for the making of them. But the people of the United States, before whom this matter was somewhat surprisingly laid for debate, have shown themselves to be afraid that Russia may have got the hydrogen bomb, or may get it soon.

Very large financial advantages will accrue to certain elements in the American population if their government decides to make the bomb: and these sinister elements are well organised, and can bring political pressure to bear at decisive points. More fundamentally, there is present amongst all classes in the United States a growing ill-will of Russia; for which the Americans are by no means entirely to blame. The policy of Russia indeed, since 1945—or, shall we say, since the decision was taken not to share the atomic secrets with her—has been coldly and deliberately infuriating everywhere!

Perils facing mankind

There are thus three great psychological forces working for the threatened intensification of the arms-race through the American manufacture of the hydrogen bomb. Those forces are ancient, and familiar. They are money-power, hatred and fear.

On the other side the vanguard of the elements in American life seeking to save mankind from the frightful consequences which may follow this intensified gallop towards the Atomic War, is formed, rather surprisingly, not of the men of religion, who are still wobbling in opinion, but of the atomic scientists themselves. They know better than anyone else the fateful nature of the issues involved.

Several of them have spoken out frankly regarding what must be expected to happen to our planet, as a home for mankind, if the new war starts (as it will have to start, for fear of reprisals), with a concentrated salvo of the monster bombs which are now under debate. There is peril in them to the very existence of mankind, to the visibility of the whole great experiment of human life on this earth.

In addition to this, these atomic scientists are filled with acute feelings of responsibility, and indeed of guilt, for the existence of this whole perilous situation. They are realising with profound distress to what evil use their industry and inventiveness, in 1945 and the preceding years, have been prostituted. They urge therefore that a halt should be called, publicly, to the arms-race, by a refusal on the part of the United States to make the new bomb.

In this situation of tension it is surprising also to find some at least of the great Service Chiefs on the side of the atomic scientists; their protests have added weight to the opposition, on ethical grounds, to such an acceleration of the arms-race.

What really happened in 1945?

Meanwhile it is becoming obvious what really happened in 1945. In our little country men and women of good-will have been saying that the atomic bomb makes little difference. It may not be used in a new war, just as poison-gas was not used in the war of 1939-45. In any case it is just one more weapon for the hotting-up of war-frightfulness.

Such sentiments are now seen to be merely soothing syrup. For one thing, General Omar Bradley himself publicly declared on Aug. 27, 1949: "At the instant of aggression the war starts with the all-out atomic bombing of the Russian cities." This statement remorselessly cuts the ground from beneath the feet of all the

By John S. Hoyland

shallow optimism which would seek to persuade us that the bomb will not be used.

The "just one more weapon" attitude, which discounts the bomb as merely doing a little more quickly, and on a somewhat larger scale, what obliteration bombing was already doing in 1944, ignores the constantly repeated warnings of the scientists that the atomic and post-atomic discoveries constitute a real and imminent threat to the continued existence of mankind on his planet.

At the time when the American manufacture of the hydrogen bomb was being energetically debated on both sides of the Atlantic, the Scientific Correspondent of the London Times summed up the situation thus:

"How far the hydrogen project has advanced is not, of course, known outside the circle of experts bound to secrecy. There seems, however, little doubt that within a few decades, if not within a few years, it will be possible for any Power with modern industrial resources to destroy the world as we know it."

Here then is the heart of our modern dilemma. "To be or not to be." The

Conglomerate Degeneration

By WILFRED WELLOCK

I HAVE just read a new book with the title: "New Times, New Methods & New Men," by Vera M. Clarke (Allen & Unwin), which describes with fine enthusiasm and a kind of spiritual glow new techniques of industrial management whereby the acknowledged loss of vital spiritual and human values during the course of the Industrial Revolution may be restored, whence men may regain wholeness and the satisfactions which belong to wholeness.

The recognition of the spiritual devastations of modern industrialism and of the consequent disintegration of human personality is excellent, but the proposed remedy is tragic to a degree, and reveals how very easy it is for science—in this case psychology—to become an instrument of slipshod observation and thinking and the means of perpetuating an evil social condition by camouflaging it with a kind of spiritual cosmetic which gives the appearance of health and wellbeing.

The author's intention is admirable and her language arresting. She starts out with two promising forecasts, one by Arthur Bryant, the other by Sir Lawrence Bragg;

England is now learning again that neither wealth nor power nor comfort, whether for class or individual, are ends in themselves; that the wealth of a nation consists in nothing but the virtue of her children and children's children. That no profits, education, law, custom or institution that does not contribute to their health and goodness is of any enduring value. That the proper test of all legislation, of every political programme and economic activity, is not "Does it pay?" or "Does it enrich this class or that?" but "Will it make better men and women?"

"We are living at the present moment just at the beginning of one of those times when the whole structure of human society undergoes a vast change and re-organisation . . . The time has come for all men of courage and goodwill to revise their thinking and plan for a new world in which men will live and work together in harmony; a world in which the status and dignity of man will be fully acknowledged."

There follows a just condemnation of the methods and spirit of the Industrial Revolution, then a detailed account of the rights and values which are to be restored, and a discussion of the means by which this is to be done. Included in those lost values are creativity, responsibility, and the relationships which develop the social consciousness. Special emphasis is laid on such things as producing a good morale and the right work atmosphere in every factory.

It is when Mrs. Clarke comes to the new techniques whereby the vital values above-mentioned are to be recovered that the new science breaks down. The New Idea is "collective creativeness," which she introduces in a quotation from "Dynamic Administration" by Mary Parker Follett:

"Many writers tell us that we are living in a barren age and deplore this as a sign of our degeneration . . . Such people make the mistake of connecting creativeness always and inevitably with individuals. They do not see that we are now

Hydrogen bomb is but the latest leap forward down the slippery slope towards the pit of universal suicide, whither the arms-race is hurrying us with ever-increasing speed.

For mankind—a poison-capsule

Modern science has achieved the incredible miracle of creating on earth a heat (roughly that of 20 million degrees centigrade) equal to the heat at the centre of the Sun. In so doing, it has, as we now perceive, slipped into the hand of humanity a poison-capsule, just as Hitler's emissary slipped a poison-capsule into Rommel's hand at the end of 1944.

We are faced with the alternative, suicide or incredible welfare (which the right use of atomic energy can give), life or death, good or evil. For evil is now summed up before us, in gigantic reality, as that which makes for war-hatred, fear, Mammonism.

If the Scientific Correspondent of the Times is right—and he is merely echoing what the atomic scientists have been saying for years—human history changed decisively and for ever in 1945, when man received from the hand of science this deadly poison, which may also, if he uses it aright, be the means of banishing for ever from his experience poverty, want and starvation (these are the terms used in this reference by the leading atomic scientist of our country).

Looking back, even from the short distance of five years, we may now see that in that moment of discovery the human race came to adult manhood.

The long vistas of time before 1945 formed in a sense an age of innocence, the childhood of the race. On July 16 of that year, when the first experimental bomb was exploded over the New Mexico desert, we stepped forward into adulthood. Never again, whatever may happen in the future, can we retrace that step.

For our whole history ahead—be that long or short—we shall be haunted by the knowledge that, given certain eventualities, certain implementings of the evil will, man-

at the beginning of a period of creative energy, but that instead of being the individual creativeness of the past which gave us our artists and our poets, we may now enter on a period of collective creativeness if we have the imagination to see its potentialities, its reach, its ultimate significance; above all, if we are willing patiently to work out the method."

We are not told what is to be the "collective" equivalent of poems and paintings and the other products of "individual artists," but the outstanding specimens produced so far are motor cars which are blocking our roads, aeroplanes which are blackening our sky, and atomic bombs which are threatening to destroy everything under the sun.

*

We are thus presented with such terms as "social skill," the "co-ordination of experience," the "interweaving of responsibilities and functions" which are said to be "fundamental to the unity of the group," producing a "new sense of balanced effectiveness." We are even told that by the "skilled use of joint consultation or Conference . . . there will be established that common purpose for which men will work with a will and find satisfaction and a sense of fulfilment in doing so."

I say in all sincerity that this is all fiddle-dee. None of the people above quoted have ever faced the prospect of a life-time on the work-line or at a wholly repetitive job.

What appals me is the complete lack of imagination of sociological "experts" who can believe that "consultation and conference" and being told that one is associated with £3,000 a year back-room boys, is the equivalent of skills, can develop the mental power, the insight, knowledge and understanding, and can yield the satisfactions, of creative labour, of attempting to make something in the external world correspond to something in the spirit.

What, in fact, these psychologists do is to administer a series of mental salves and balms which help to make soulless labour endurable. These pleasant ministrations, together with the excitements of mass sport, the filling up of football coupons, which is now the regular occupation of one-third of our adult population (above 21) of both sexes, and is openly proclaimed as a veritable part of the British way of life, are part of the process of mind-conditioning which, in the mass-production factory and the total, highly centralised state, constitutes the major Black Art of our age; the art of conditioning people to function at the sub-human level. In a world of total war and mass-functioning peace it is meaningless to say that war will cease when men learn how to live, and society how to make wholesome living possible.

TWO ARTICLES BY BIRMINGHAM PACIFISTS

JOHN HOYLAND of the Woodbroke Settlement, Selly Oak, will be one of the speakers at the Town Hall meeting in connection with Birmingham Peace Week on Monday, Oct. 16 at 7.30 p.m.

WILFRED WELLOCK, former Labour MP for Stourbridge, was a delegate to the World Pacifist Meeting in India and has recently published an important pamphlet under the title of "Gandhi as a Social Revolutionary." (Peace News, 18s.).

kind may destroy itself wholesale. Henceforth and in a sense for ever, universal suicide will be just round the corner, a peril to be constantly kept in mind and demanding continual active vigilance lest it should leap upon us and destroy us unawares.

Humanity is adult at last; and however wistfully we may regret the age of innocence which is behind us, and so near behind us, regrets are useless. We must face the future, grim though its aspect may seem to be.

To say this—to realise, that is, what the words quoted from the Scientific Correspondent of the Times really signify—is to proclaim the fact that, miserably inadequate though we may feel for such a destiny, we live at the supreme moment of history.

A decision must be made

In this present moment of decision also is summed up the whole future, because if we do not now decide aright, that future does not exist at all, so far as mankind on this planet is concerned.

No generation ever before has been born into so titanic an epoch. No generation succeeding us, if any do succeed us, can be so born, because we are the first to face and grapple with this issue. To be or not to be, on behalf of humanity as a whole.

In this sense we are the heirs of all ages, future as well as past, because the future has no existence, and nothing else, and is nothing at all, unless we decide aright. All history is summed up in us. Past and future are poised in instant expectation, to watch what we shall do with the poison-capsule in our hand.

In view of these present issues we need another word for war. Let the old word be used for the childish scuffling of the past, up to Aug. 5, 1945, and for the minor riotings, in Greece, Palestine, China and elsewhere, which are being fought without the atomic weapon. Conflict between fully industrialised and scientifically organised world-blocks, war waged with atomic and post-atomic weapons, must be called something new, World-Suicide for instance.

The question of the survival of humanity becomes the question of how to stop this kind of conflict, whether by the erection of a world-control competent to take charge of the new weapons, and commissioned to scrap them wholesale, or by the creation of a federal world-government, or (as at present) by constant and increasingly precarious peace-making, continually more and more liable to be sabotaged as "appeasement," or in any other way which presents itself.

Above all and behind all the task must be attempted by the process of replacing the death-motive of fear, hatred, Mammonism by good-will.

"To be or not to be" becomes thus a spiritual enterprise, demanding the overcoming of spiritual evil by spiritual Good. "The religion of the Spirit will be the religion of man when he has come of age; it will constitute his emergence from childhood and youth."

N. Berdyaev, "The Divine and the Human," (Geoffrey Bles, 18s.).

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BIRMINGHAM PEACE WEEK, OCTOBER, 15-21

PEACE IS IN YOUR HANDS

A leaflet advertising Birmingham Peace Week and specially printed for distribution from the Peace Council's Stand at the Ideal Homes Exhibition there reads:

THE furnishing of your home is obviously on your mind—and rightly so. Man's progress through the ages is judged by his endeavours to create a noble environment in which to live.

In your own home environment—the choice of certain colours and carpet patterns is entirely in your hands, and if you want something badly enough you will be prepared to pay the price for it.

We believe that most people desire peace, a sense of security and a peaceful environment in which they can live a full and satisfying life.

We also believe that the peace of the world can be, and should be controlled by ordinary folk like ourselves; as with the curtains and the carpets of our homes, world peace is our responsibility and we must be prepared to pay the price for it.

Peace is in your hands—join a peace organisation and work for peace.

First Peace Builders Team starts in Birmingham

SOME of the most active people in the IVSP, peace and other groups in Birmingham have started a service team to make peace building a way of life, through developing a balanced programme of study, community service, world contacts, and the seeking of fundamental personal values.

The study programme seeks to understand the processes of social change by examining various creative social movements. At present Wilfred Wellock is leading a study of his pamphlet on the conclusions of the World Pacifist Conference in India on Peace, Basic Education and the Social Order, which deals primarily with Gandhi's methods of education for social living.

Week-end work camps are being planned in co-operation with other groups to make playgrounds on bombed sites. One very successful work camp has already painted Dick Sheppard House, and at the same time squeezed in some lively discussions and a good folk-dance Saturday evening with the

Crusade for World Government leaders.

As the team grows in understanding of the nature of a non-violent social order it is hoped the projects will be directed more to the encouragement of actual living examples of the more positive social relationships.

World-wide contacts

The team also helps the working committee of Peace Builders' Work-Study-Travel System, to gather hospitality offers for socially-conscious foreign youth, and help English youth make trips abroad. There is also correspondence with peace and social action groups in different parts of the world and the team is itself becoming interracial.

A co-operative house is being considered that can be a home for the family-like team and a centre for the team's activities. The team would be pleased to hear from sympathetic people who would like to help start and live in such a co-op house; one need not necessarily be a member of the team.

From eight countries

The team has also started a teen-age group. The first gathering at the Almond's home with about 25 young people from some eight different countries and a large Jamaican contingent had a good evening exchanging folk songs and stories about harvest festivals. It was inspiring for all present to see how this home festival approach developed by an American Quaker could so quickly bring together into a happy community such a diverse group of strangers. This group also welcomes any sympathetic youth.

The core of the team includes: Cliff and Vera Almond, Esma Burrough, Lisbet Folyard, Barbara Hare, Connie Jones, and Chris Smith and there are a dozen more actively interested. They welcome active participants and will be happy to correspond with people anywhere interested in starting teams or helping the Work-Study-Travel System. Address: Lisbet Folyard, Clerk; 173 Station Road, Birmingham, 30.

YOUTH COMMITTEE'S WEEK-END CONFERENCE

A NUMBER of teen-age non-pacifists were among the 40 young people who attended a week-end conference organised by the Youth Committee of the Birmingham Fellowship of Reconciliation on September 23 and 24.

The speakers for the conference, which was entitled "Christ and Peace," were John Ferguson and Max Parker, assistant to Dr. Donald Soper at the West London Mission.

Max Parker, in the opening session on "The World Crisis and the Christian Answer," described the many crises, both political and racial, which were present in every country in the world. Man-made political solutions had been tried and had failed, he said; and it was only the Christian way of love which could succeed.

These schemes bring hope

"International Relationships," John Ferguson's talk, opened on a grave note as the speaker told of the chaos and self-destruction towards which the world was, apparently inevitably, moving today.

With more optimism, he went on to describe the work of some of the international schemes in which nations co-operated for common good—such as UNESCO, UNRRA and the World Health Organisation. It is in the building up of such schemes that there lies hope for a more united world. He added, however, that adequate contribution to these would result in a lowered standard of living for some countries.

A service with the theme "Love thy Neighbour" was conducted by two members of the Birmingham Youth Committee on Sunday morning.

Follow-up meetings with opportunity for informal discussion are being arranged in the near future.

QUEST FOR UNANIMITY

Peace Council's story

THE idea of a young Birmingham member of the Society of Friends, Ian H. Abbott, in 1948, that there should be a body to liaise between the various organisations working for Peace in Birmingham, in due course culminated in the formation of the present Birmingham Peace Council. It is this body which is the mainspring of the Peace Week which is taking place in Birmingham next week.

Originally styled the Liaison Group of Organisations Working for Peace, the first exploratory meeting was held at the Friends Meeting House, Bull Street, Birmingham, on November 11, 1948—Remembrance Day.

Among the organisations represented were the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Christian Action Fellowship, the Friends Peace Committee, the International Friendship League, the Peace Pledge Union, the Womens International League, the Crusade for World Government and the East-West Friendship Council.

How decisions are made

At the first meeting Wilfred A. Beswick, a member of the Society of Friends, was elected chairman and Ian Abbott, Hon. Secretary.

In order that the utmost co-operation should be maintained, it was decided early in the organisation that decisions should be taken after the manner of Friends, there being no formal voting. Decisions are made in line with the sense of the meeting. Where there is expressed opposition to any course of action, prolonged consideration is given to all points of view and in all cases the difficulties have receded.

In May, 1949, it was decided to re-name the Group, the Birmingham Peace Council and application was made for affiliation to the National Peace Council. This was immediately agreed to.

Throughout the year 1949 various activities took place, amongst which was an essay competition for young people on the subject: "Why and how should youth serve world peace?" In October a Peace Week was held, during which meetings were held in various parts of the City. There were speeches in the Bull Ring; over 6,500 leaflets were distributed during the week and there was some useful publicity in the local Press.

Peacemaking through the Press

This year has seen the activity kept up and expanded. Much support has been forthcoming from members of the Birmingham Trades' Council and, through them, the Trades Unions. Womens' activities and interests are strongly represented on the Council.

Constant watch is kept on the columns of the Press and efforts are made to encourage a policy of peacemaking and to suggest alternative courses when destructive ideas are propagated.

This year, Peace Week is going to be held on a larger scale, starting with a meeting in the Town Hall. It has been preceded by a stall for three weeks in the Ideal Home Exhibition at Bingley Hall. The Week will be referred to in greater detail in another part of this issue. But the Week is not to be an end. It is to be a springboard for further activities, the next to which is to be a Delegate Conference in November to consider how the Cause of Peace can be furthered; the problems to be faced will be examined; the technique of Peacemaking worked out, and a vision sought for the next steps to be taken as we move on into 1951.

H.H.

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PEACE STAND AT BIRMINGHAM EXHIBITION

Over five hundred thousand people are expected to visit the Ideal Home Exhibition at Bingley Hall, Birmingham, during the three and a half weeks that it is open. With the object of pointing out to these visitors that Peace is essential if they are to have homes—Ideal or otherwise—the Birmingham Peace Council has taken a Stand there. Small, but in a prominent position, it has attracted many enquiries and vigorous discussions have taken place there.

Literature, including Peace News, is displayed there, all of which has a bearing on Peace. The literature has been provided by the constituent organisations, members of which are manning the stall in relays.

The last week of the Exhibition coincides with Birmingham's Peace Week and the attention of visitors is being drawn to the meetings and other activities which will take place during that week.

The stand, which will cost £75 for the 3½ weeks run of the show, is being staffed by 84 volunteers from 12 different organisations for 22 days at four shifts of two volunteers per day. Literature sales averaged 14s. a day for the first five days.

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Machine-tool factory's peace offer

"PEACE BUILDERS" in Hamburg have secured the co-operation of a large German machine-tool factory in a scheme for promoting world friendship and peace.

The factory, which employs 200 apprentices is offering to employ two foreign apprentices in their third year if two of their own apprentices can be given a similar opportunity.

The management of the Hamburg factory are willing to pay a salary which would enable the visitors to provide their own room and board, but would nevertheless much appreciate offers of mutual hospi-

ality in order that the full benefit of such an exchange could be reaped.

Further details of this project may be obtained from: Joachim Wesseloh, (24a) Hamburg 39, Krohnskamp 37, Germany.

Another opportunity for a young Englishman of under 21 is work with young homeless German refugees at an evangelical youth home. A long-term stay and participation in manual work is expected but little knowledge of the German language is required. Further information in this particular instance may be had from: Evgl. Jugendheimstatt, (21) Beienbach, üß Netphen/Sieg, Germany.

PLATFORM POINTS



THE WAR BUSINESS CARRIES BIG OVERHEADS

IF you want an efficient, shooting army you must spend a lot of money. Don't think that the number of front-line soldiers you get is proportional to the money you spend. It isn't. You must spend many millions on such things as administration, housing, uniforms and supply services before you can have one group of fighting soldiers or a squadron of aircraft.

Look at these figures which show how this year's French military budget is being distributed. Less than ten per cent will supply arms and ammunition. Note also, that whether you are developing an efficient army or not, you must not let the armaments industry decline. If you don't want munitions you must subsidise the industry so that it will be able to produce arms when you do want them.

The French defence appropriation for this year, states Bertrand de Jouvenal, *Manchester Guardian*, August 22, is £420 million sterling, £140 million of this will pay for the Indo-China war and defence of overseas territories. The remaining £280 million will be distributed as follows:

	£ (millions)	%
Service pay	73.4	26.2
Subsidies to armament factories	73.3	26.1
New war material	26.2	9.3
Maintenance of existing war material	25.0	8.9
Food	18.0	6.5
Fuel, light, clothing and housing	18.0	6.5
Administration and health service	16.5	5.9
Gendarmerie	14.0	5.0
Welfare	10.2	3.7
Pensions for sick and wounded, widows and dependants	5.4	1.9

THE COST OF A TANK DIVISION

Next March a new armoured division will be sent to join the British Army of the Rhine. The initial cost of its equipment will be £15 million, says Robert Jessel, *Daily Express* Military Commentator (September 27). To operate it for one year will cost considerably more.

Its equipment will include: 200-250 tanks and more than 100 guns.

A Centurion tank costs £30,000 and a self-propelled gun nearly as much. A towed 25-pounder costs £3,900, a Bofors anti-aircraft gun £5,060 and an anti-tank gun nearly £5,000.

In addition to all other vehicles required, the division has 2,000 wireless sets. Its 18,000 men must be paid about £5 million a year and it costs another million a year to feed them.

INDIA'S VIEW

"We have felt for a long time past that it is quite essential from every point of view that the People's Government of China should be represented in the United Nations. Long before the Korean war started we urged this on other governments.

"After the invasion of South Korea and what followed we felt it all the more necessary that New China should have its due place in the United Nations. It was obvious that China was at least as intimately interested in developments in the Far East as any country could be.

"We are of the opinion that every effort should be made to bring the Korean war to a conclusion and that it would be wrong to carry on military operations when peaceful methods can bring the necessary results. Therefore we think the United Nations Forces should not go beyond the 38th Parallel until other means of settlement have been explored.

"It is wrong, not now but always, to assume that we can obtain the objective by pursuing military methods to the utmost and to the last."

—Pandit Nehru, reported in *The Observer*, October 1 (our emphasis).

50,000 DIE IN SEOUL — McARTHUR SAYS THE LORD'S PRAYER

"Thirty-thousand South Korean civilians died in the battle for Seoul, American intelligence officers estimated. Another 20,000 are reported to have been killed by the Communists, mainly for political reasons.

"The Communists also took 20,000 people to prison camps north of the 38th Parallel before they fled from the city.

"Hundreds of civilians have given evidence of a Communist 'Black Sunday' massacre of 2,000 young men . . ."

"General MacArthur arrived to hand back the city to South Korea's President, Syngman Rhee.

"At the handing-over ceremony General MacArthur asked all to rise and join him in the Lord's Prayer."

—*Evening Standard*, September 29

Communism

A FRIEND of mine, representative of the vast majority of non-Communist people the world over, was recently asked by my wife to give a definition of Communism. This he was unable to do—and admitted it. Yet he (and many others just as unknowledgeable) is a frenzied advocate of a war carried to any lengths to oppose the spread of Communism into his own back-garden.

I am amazed (and I take some amazing!) that nations, making all allowance for their pernicious Press, can seethe with ignorant hatred for an ideology which is so quickly engulfing the world. Is it common sense to suppose that a regime that is so brutal, useless and resented, as all the non-Communist countries would have us believe, could be so readily accepted and so quickly spreading without the support of its 'victims'?

Hitler's policy of aggression was accepted by the German people, not merely because of the hate propaganda and the power of the Gestapo, but because Hitler had won their confidence and could convince them that he was acting in their best interests. No power retains its strength when it becomes corrupt—it is the element of good that holds it together; when that good is forsaken the collapse begins. And Stalin is being far more successful than Hitler, although he has still not learned by any means completely the truism that we do not conquer our enemy until we have made him our friend.

Learning, far from pacifist, national papers have commented in recent months on such evidence as the amazing restraint and lack of outrages in the occupation of Shanghai and a foremost Sunday paper was so reluctant to withhold the glaring truth as to impart the important information that Korea comprises a people who are spiritually and economically ready and willing for Communism.

As a non-Communist I regret the spread of a system (or, more accurately, a way of thinking) that has many failings; but it is useless to blind ourselves to the fact that where conditions are such that they provide a hot-bed for Communist development; it is useless to resist them by anything but a more attractive ideology.

JON WYNNE-TYSON

17a Pond Street,
Hampstead, N.W.3.

Trapped

We regret that the printing trades' dispute has caused a delay in publishing the following answer to Harold Picton's letter of Sept. 15.

Dear Harold,

Your sentence "war, with all its horrors and deceptions, comes to an end," reads strangely to one who, at 64, feels that she has lived in a world where war is chronic. Havelock Ellis, in his *The Nineteenth Century*, published in 1900 partly in protest against the Boer War, summed up human civilisation, as displayed in that century, as one of chronic war. This, inevitably, for war breeds war, and always so increased in horror that, today, it can only be fought by means of forced labour, that is to say conscription.

Modern oligarchies started conscription over a century ago, though at first—at least on the continent—by drawing lots. This because not yet as many recruits were required as now. Conscription was, all the same, already so dreaded, that men often mutilated themselves (the right hand especially then) to become unfit for soldiers. Or, when a young man drew the unlucky number, his family raked up all the money they had to buy him off by paying a substitute. Not many, however, could do this; so most men were driven to soldiering out of ill luck or of destitution.

These horrors of the Napoleonic period are well pictured in Erskman Châtian's *L'Histoire d'un Conscrit*, but are tame compared with the general forced labour used today, first in barracks then in fighting.

A French doctor, attached to a field ambulance in War I, adequately described a battlefield—otherwise a field of conscripts—when he wrote to a friend: "Forgive me. You know my sleepless nights, haunted by images of agony, my ardent meditations on death. You know what I have seen. Corpses and corpses, in thousands, sprinkled over fields and woods, bordering the road, filling the wet ditches, forming the only inhabitants of flaming villages with smoke that twisted its poor bloodied arms beneath the rain to the sky. You know that after having seen such things I ask how the father and mother of a child dare look each other in the face."

Are we to become party to such terrorism, probably more atrocious in a new war? Personally I say "NO." To understand fully the tortures endured by these conscripts before they become corpses, read Henri Barbusse's *Under Fire*, still the best war book I know. War No. II may give us others, providing enough of the conscripts who fought in it and survived be not called up to perish in War No. III.

FRANCOISE DELISLE

62 Friern Park,
North Finchley, N.12.

Past Wars

IN your interesting selection from speeches in Parliament there appears the following statement by Mr. R. W. Sorensen. "Although war has no doubt played its part in the evolution of mankind it has

now reached the stage when the accumulation of force, the crescendo of violence is so great, so massive and so comprehensive, as quite probably to destroy the very things which we set out to preserve.

It seems to me that we must interpret this passage as expressing, if not approval, at least acceptance of past wars as having promoted the evolution of mankind. While this is not an unreasonable view to hold, it is clean contrary to the principles of true pacifism, which must condemn all wars that ever were in their action and their results.

This condemnation must include the victories which frustrated the Persian attempt to dominate ancient Greece and the Mahomedan attempt to dominate Europe. The pacifist is, in fact, against the whole course of history.

I do not intend to take up your space by arguing the question, but it is important that pacifists—and Mr. Sorensen professes to be one—should realise how completely revolutionary the position is. Dr. Donald Soper has done much in this direction. Once one departs from absolute pacifism one is only left with the libertarian view, which you reported as put forth by another MP in your previous number. This is that it is not a crime to take part in war in a supreme emergency, but it is a crime to compel any individual to take part in war, except of his free and deliberate choice.

D. G. WILLIAMS

Oriel Lodge,
Gloucester.

The Conscript's point of view

TO all who think conscription justifiable we wish to put this question: "In the event of a successful invasion of our country, would they themselves oppose the enemy with all possible force, refusing to obey, even under torture?"

If not, they are forcing young lads to do what they are not willing to do themselves. Soldiers are liable to capture and torture; to lie unattended with gangrenous and grievous wounds, to suffer agonies of mind and body. They are young, and the old have decreed that their bodies must be sacrificed.

Can the old and the middle-aged hope to secure freedom and safety for themselves, with honour, by the deliberate sacrifice of voteless youngsters?

A question often asked by civilians, during the last war, was: "What would become of us, if we did not fight?" Which interpreted means: "We are not prepared to resist as we compel the young to do; therefore had we not compelled them to fight, it might have been very unpleasant for us."

Few seem to put the conscript's point of view, or to speak on his behalf. If for this reason only, we hope you will publish this letter.

ALICE D. SALTER

(Hon. Secretary of the Exeter Peace Group)
8 Hillsborough Avenue,
Exeter.

War—and the Daily Worker

THE DAILY WORKER for Oct. 5, published a number of pictures showing the misery which has been created by the war in Korea.

These pictures show scenes which are the inevitable accompaniment to the state of war wherever it may exist. They are not peculiar to the Korean situation, and it is stupid to regard them as the outcome of American imperialism in Korea.

Had the North Koreans never crossed the 38th Parallel, all this need never have happened.

In any case have we any reason to suppose that the atrocities here pictured have been perpetrated by the "American" forces? Is it not likely that Korean fanatics have done these things? Further, is it likely that only one side has done them?

The "Fascists," as the Daily Worker names those who are fighting with the South Koreans, are not any more renowned than the Communists for acts of inhuman destruction.

JEAN THOMAS

Tadworth,
Surrey.

Class Z Reserve

MY letter on this subject in your issue of Sept. 1 made no reference to the statement by the Minister of Labour in the House of Commons on July 27 last which was reported in *Peace News* shortly afterwards. In reply to a question from John Paton, Mr. Isaacs said that if it became necessary to recall class Z reservists "the necessary guidance would be given at the time."

No indication has yet been given of the nature of that guidance, but it seems reasonable to hope that reservists will be allowed to appeal to the tribunals without facing courts martial. Your correspondent, Jack Edwards, will gather that non-pacifist as well as pacifist MPs are concerned about the position, and he may be sure that they, through the Parliamentary Exemptions Group, as well as the Central Board for COs, will do their utmost for the reservist-
CO.

BERNARD WITHERS

Central Board for Conscientious Objectors,
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

WRI Council meeting

IN your issue of Aug. 11, 1950, you included a report by Stuart Morris on the recent Meeting of the War Resisters' International Council entitled—War Resisters meet in Turin.

I feel sure that many of your readers have been interested in this report and therefore write to say that the WRI office has a few spare copies of a very much fuller report (but which was impossible to print in "Peace News" owing to its length) and which includes in full several of the most important statements discussed by the Council and contributed by Heinz Kraschutski of Germany and Dr. Samar R. Sen of India.

I thought groups might like to have the fuller report for discussion and should be pleased to send a copy to anyone applying to WRI headquarters, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex; although I must emphasise that the number available is strictly limited.

GRACE M. BEATON

War Resisters' International,
Lansbury House,
88 Park Avenue, Enfield.

Pamphlets

MAY I say how much more could be done by those workers willing to distribute pamphlets, if they each undertook to "Post" them through letter boxes in their own districts.

People are embarrassed by pamphlets thrust at them in the street, but most will read anything dropped through their letter box. The very excellent pamphlets by Ethel Mannin "If I had a son," and Kathleen Lonsdale's "Conscription's insidious effect on the Young" made me wish I could do something in this line, for I am sure they would do a great deal if they could be brought to the notice of people in the way suggested.

DORA M. GRIFFITH

Friends Meeting House,
Hunter Street,
Liverpool, 3.

IRENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St, W.C.1

PEACE NEWS announce the 1950
ENDSLEIGH

Christmas Cards

An attractive and colourful selection varied to suit all tastes and ages

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Double cards Price 4d.
6. Two International children's cards, two colours and halftones
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7. Father Christmas selling Peace News!
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In addition we introduce—

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A set of six Nativity and traditional Christmas scenes drawn in outline on large double cards, for colouring with paints or crayons.

Children, parents, teachers and Sunday School workers will welcome this attractive innovation.

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3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Letters from abroad

The struggle against hatred

I WAS interested in reading in Peace News (Aug. 4), of the visit of Muriel Lester to South Africa.

With the Union coming so much into the limelight and with the racial problem becoming more and more acute, I think perhaps your readers may be interested in our work here and our, I believe, unique approach to the problem.

It is not only necessary to remove class and colour distinction between Black and White but between Coloured and Indian, African and Coloured and so on, and it is most important that the Europeans of this Colony—especially the younger generation—should realise that all sections are capable of reaching a standard of culture and creative expression.

We have for years worked to establish a Little Theatre for children and young people, not as an Amateur Dramatic Group but as a centre where youth could find opportunity for creative work—as Bertrand Russell rightly points out, "when the creative instinct is developed the possessive becomes far less strong."

We have always co-operated with Non-Europeans (the only organisation that has) and recently this side of the work has developed tremendously. A group of girls from the Coloured Community produced a three-act play most successfully and went "on tour" thus making history. A group of Indian young men recently presented most beautifully, "Buddha," by Clifford Bax, and are shortly to repeat the performance to the European school children. An African group is just starting work.

This all seems perhaps unimportant but its value cannot be over-estimated both to the society in general and to the individual in particular. Drama gives a common platform, it expresses the deepest emotions and the spiritual yearnings of all humanity and these are the same in all peoples everywhere; there is no place for differences of Race or Creed, or Colour when we touch

the human and spiritual attributes of mankind.

Moreover, such work gives confidence, self reliance and a new hope to those becoming bitter and depressed by unjust conditions and it tends to make the White race realise the abilities, yearnings and just demands of those considered inferior and incapable of appreciating all that is best in life.

To those of us who work with Europeans and Non-Europeans there is no comparison in the satisfaction gained from contact with the latter groups for they have ambition and a goal, they are inspired with the true missionary spirit; the European youth are unfortunately being content to "rest on their oars" and are relying too much on the benefits their position assures them, refusing to accept the responsibility and need for service that is theirs.

As I have such little opportunity for contact may I say here that all pacifists of what ever race or colour will be made welcome by me here if coming to Rhodesia.

G. G. COLEMAN

135 Rhodes Street, Bulawayo, Rhodesia. The Little Theatre of Rhodesia is affiliated to the Little Theatre Guild of Great Britain.—Ed. PN.

"Pattern for Peace"

IN Peace News of June 30, 1950, under the title "Pattern for Peace" Eileen Fletcher described the camp for Displaced Persons in the heart of South Africa. The achievement gives me hope for South Africa, with its racial intolerance and bitterness.

I am writing to ask most earnestly if you would send copies of "Pattern for Peace" to those of our South African papers that would be likely to print it (names and addresses attached).

May I take this opportunity of expressing my deep appreciation of Peace News. With my whole heart I support all for which it stands.

SUZANNE STEPHEN

4 Robinson Avenue, Discovery 2, Transvaal, Union of South Africa.

Steps to prevent war

READERS are invited to send well-thought-out suggestions upon which our Government could be expected to act. Here is an impromptu sample:

That a courteous, logical letter be sent to Mr. Stalin, signed by Mr. Attlee and Mr. Churchill (also Mr. Truman, if he agrees). It should possibly not be published until Mr. Stalin replies.

Text: To make it possible to end the war in Korea, still more to prevent any future war; we invite you to reply to this letter and to state for publication that the USSR, in common with all other countries, does honestly intend to prevent war; also that it will join all other nations in

implementing that intention by these new, open declarations to that effect: that the USSR, with all others, will agree to immediate multi-lateral disarmament of all war weapons and war preparations; that the USSR agrees with all others to an international disarmament inspectorate to be continuously in session and operating; that the USSR and all other nations will cease unfriendly criticisms in speech and writing and all forceful coercive or punitive measures against persons, societies or states because of their respective political practice, faith or opinions, either within the borders of each respective state or outside its boundaries; that all will recognise freedom of thought, speech, writing and worship; that the USSR, in common with all other nations, will accept the common rights of mankind as outlined by the UN and agree to free intercommunications by travel, culture, books, letters, telephone and wireless.

In sending this letter, we wish to assure Mr. Stalin of our sincere desire for friendly relations with the USSR and for the prosperity of its people and all other peoples within the UN. We ask Mr. Stalin to be good enough to reply fully and frankly to this letter and to add his comments as to its terms and implications.

PRACTICAL IDEALIST POLITICIAN Norway.

A country of horrors

THE old city of Seoul exists no more. A new Seoul is to rise from the high flames, from the dark clouds of smoke, from the curses of the beaten and the prayers of the hundred-thousand who have been freed.

That is the impression of Mr. Whitbread, a news correspondent in the Korean ex-capital at the time the UNO troops entered Seoul. "It was a struggle between life and death which I have not seen in the two previous wars. The Reds resisted until their last bullet was gone."

The cost of victory is high. Towns, factories and railways have been destroyed; tens of thousands of innocent people are homeless and starving on the muddy roads. Meanwhile, the delegates at UNO, who ought to know and to act quickly are meeting at the Waldorf Astoria in New York and are driving their limousines to Lake Success.

It will take years to rebuild Korea; in the meantime, many homeless Koreans will die in the gutter. It seems easier to move military divisions than to provide rice for the poor and hungry victims of militarism.

RICHARD HOFFMANN

German correspondents

I COULD give to anyone interested the names and addresses of a few German young men and students who would like correspondents in England.

TERRY PLANT

Hildedal 2, Grimbo, Göteborg, 8, Sweden.

Up and doing!

WHO SENT IT?

"I received a copy of Peace News the other day and have read every word of it with great interest. Having seen the results of two world wars I only wish everybody could read it, and am sending a small donation to help keep it going. How can I get it regularly?"

No need to be a propagandist to get new readers for P.N. Every week many letters reach us from people who have just seen the paper for the first time, because a reader here and there has spent a few minutes sending copies round his district.

War will never cease unless pacifists do such simple, necessary tasks week-by-week, on an ever-growing scale.

* * * This week Birmingham readers, especially, should distribute extra copies of this special 10-page Birmingham Peace Week Number. Order a quantity for free distribution (reduced rate 1s. 10d. dozen, post free) from W. Esma Burroughs, Dick Sheppard House, Holloway Head, Birmingham 1—or direct from 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. H.F.M.

Circulation last week—10,800, plus 1,000 presentation copies at Labour Party Conference (see Appeal, page 2).

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, October 4, 1940

I think if the Germans came here and insisted on governing this country I would not attempt at this juncture to oppose them... The war method cannot protect the ideals we cherish.

—Is Nazism Worse Than War?"

From Peace News, October 11, 1940

There is a grim story to be told of the treatment of conscientious objectors at Liverpool who were ordered non-combatant duties and were determined to resist. All 15 have given in.

"I do so feel I have let things down," says one, "but I could not go on. Bread and water had weakened me terribly, and yesterday I and the others were taken to the hut and subjected to heavy fatigue, running round for just over an hour, being pounded, kicked, tripped up until we dropped from sheer exhaustion."

"I was the third to pass out, but I was dumped into water and stood up again."

Particularly efficacious in converting these boys to a love of their country were the attentions of a sergeant who is an ex-professional boxer, and washed them up with professional skill.

Good clean warfare

"... The more antiseptic, more democratic slaughter of modern warfare."—News Chronicle. Sept. 30, 1950.

How do you like your slaughter? I prefer

The democratic kind that spareth none. But antiseptic—? Pray let none infer Germ warfare is not good for everyone!

PHYLLIS VALLANCE

BARGAIN IN PRINTING

40 Sheets Private Addressed Pale Blue Note-paper, 40 Envelopes to match, 3s. 10d. Other lines equally cheap. S.A.E. for full list. TULLETT, 95 Woolacombe Lodge Road, Birmingham, 29.

Notes for your Diary

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, October 13

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; Reginald Reynolds on "Basic Education in India"; Central London PPU.

Saturday, October 14

COLWYN BAY: 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Erskine Road; Speaker: Rev. Clifford H. Macquaire; Area Conference of North Wales; FoR.

GLASGOW, C.1: 3 p.m. Community Centre, 214 Clyde Street; Devotional meeting; Speaker: Rev. A. A. Bowyer, Bellahouston; "The Supremacy of Christ"; FoR.

SEVENOAKS: 3.30 and 6 p.m. Sevenoaks School of Dancing, Argyle Road; Speaker: Reginald Sorensen, M.P. West Kent Area Conference; FoR.

HIGHGATE: 6.30 p.m. Sysonk College, Highgate Lane, West Hill (2 minutes from Parliament Hill Fields Trolley bus terminus); Social gathering and concert; Refreshments; RSVP to Jim Legge, c/o Sysonk College; IVSP.

LEEDS: 3.30 p.m. Oxford Road; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; Area Conference for North West Yorkshire; FoR.

GLASGOW: 2.30 p.m. St. Andrews Hall (Berkeley St.); Conference of the Glasgow War Committee; See page 6.

MIDDLESBOROUGH: Aytun School; Conference for boys between the ages of 14 and 19. Introductory talks on "Problems of the Military Service Act" and "Alternative Service." Applications not later than October 6, to the Secretary, Northern Friends Board, Clifford Street, York, SOF.

Sunday, October 15

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Lillian Dunning, 20 Henleaze; Literary evening; Refreshments; Collection for Peace News; PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

FINCHLEY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; North London Region, PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street; Open-air meeting; PPU.

Monday, October 16

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. Birmingham Town Hall; Speakers: Ritchie Calder, Hoyland; Chairman: E. Haynes; Meeting; Birmingham Peace

LONDON, W.C.1: 5.15 p.m. University College, Gower St.; Vera Brittain on "The World Pacific Meeting in India"; University Group of the FoR.

Wednesday, October 18

BRISTOL: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Broadweir; Speaker: PPU National Council; Tom Keel Wolfe; PPU.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Carlton Hill; Roger Page on "The Peace Movement in Australia"; PPU.

SAFFRON WALDEN: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Saffron Walden; Speakers: Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale and the Rev. Clifford Macquaire; FoR.

AYLESBURY: 7.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Speaker: Gwyneth Anderson; All welcome; PPU.

Thursday, October 19

CAMBRIDGE: 6.30 p.m. The Library, Wesley Church; Christ's Pieces; Speaker: Rev. Clifford Macquaire; Details from Bernard Challis, Church Lane, Dullingham, Newmarket; Area Conference; FoR.

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m. 3 Stoke Avenue, Stoke Park, PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. Channing Hall, Surrey St.; CO Rally; Speaker: Roger Page; Refreshments.

YORK: 7.30 p.m. Mount School Hall, Dalton Terrace; Speakers: Sybil Morrison on "The Alternative to the Atomic Bomb" and Mrs. Doris Cole of Sheffield on "Christian Aspects of Peace"; Public Meeting; York Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, October 20

BEDFORD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Speaker: Vera Brittain; FoR.

LONDON, W.1: 7 p.m. King's Weigh House Church Hall (off Oxford St., opposite Selfridges); The Church and the International Situation; Speakers: the Ven. Percy Hartill (Archdeacon of Stoke) and the Rev. Douglas Wollen of Exeter (Methodist); Chairman: Canon T. B. Scrutton.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 6 Endsleigh Gardens; John Irwin, Assistant Keeper of Indian Section Victoria and Albert Museum; Central London PPU.

PALMERS GREEN: 7.30 p.m. 32 Lynbridge Gardens; Film strip: "Europe's children"; Bring and Buy stall (1s. articles); Organiser Bruce Harrison, PAL 3114; IVSP.

Saturday, October 21

LONDON, W.C.2: 11 a.m. St. Martin's-in-the-Field; Holy Communion, to be followed at 2.15 p.m. by the Annual General Meeting; Anglican Pacifist Fellowship.

NORTHAMPTON: 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Wellington St. (a turning off Aikington St.); Bernard Boothroyd, Editor of Peace News, on "Pacifism and the Press"; Chairman: Rev. H. O. Evans; PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 3.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Friar Lane; Lyn Harris, Headmaster of St. Christopher's School, Letchworth, on "The Pacific Approach to the Problems of Today"; Refreshments; CBCO.

SWANSEA: 3 p.m. and 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House; Speaker: Clifford H. Macquaire; Area Conference for West Glamorgan and South Carmarthen; FoR.

Saturday, Oct. 21-Sunday, Oct. 22 SHEFFIELD: at "Hollowford"; FoR weekend school; Details from Winifred Golding, 140 Hunter House Road; Sheffield, 11.

Sunday, October 22

CLAPHAM COMMON: 3 p.m. Open Air Meeting; Stuart Morris; Battersea and Clapham Group, PPU.

FINCHLEY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting; North London Region, PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting; PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting; PPU.

Monday, October 23

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square; Piano recital by Frank Merrick in aid of Stepey Pacific Service Unit; Works by Beethoven ("Appassionata"), Chopin, William Wordsworth and others; Tickets 2s. 6d., 4s., 6s., 10s. from Stepey PSU, 355 The Highway, E.1. Tel Royal 4664.

Tuesday, October 24

EALING: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall, Uxbridge Rd.; United Nations Day Peace Pageant; UNA.

Wednesday, October 25

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m. Davenport Hall, Davenport Street, Rushy Green; PPU.

Thursday, October 26

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Saturday, October 28

LEEDS: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woodhouse Lane; Yorkshire Area Meeting; PPU.

Friday, November 3

ST. ALBANS: 8.15 p.m. Friends Meeting House, St. Albans; Prebendary B. C. Hobson, of Cockfosters, "The Way of Christ and the Early Church"; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30-1.45. St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; Intercession Service for Peace; Miss Vera Brittain; APF, FoR, and PPU.

Thursday, November 9

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Leeds Forum, 113 Park Lane; Bernard Boothroyd on "Peace and the Press"; Public meeting; Peace News Campaign.

Saturday, November 18

BIRMINGHAM: 10.30 a.m.-12.30 p.m. and 2 p.m.-4.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bull St.; Speakers: S. O. Davies, M.P. for Merthyr Tydfil, Vera Brittain, Chairman of the PPU, Rev. A. D. Belden, D.D. and Dr. J. H. Fremlin, M.A.; Birmingham Peace Council.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

THE CHURCH and the International Situation. Public meeting, 7 p.m.; Friday, Oct. 20 in King's Weigh House Church Hall (off Oxford St., opposite Selfridges). Speakers: The Ven. Percy Hartill (Archdeacon of Stoke) and the Rev. Douglas Wollen of Exeter (Methodist). Chairman: Canon T. B. Scrutton.

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PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in, to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262) 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers), Finchbury Park, N.4.

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WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps an undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

WATCH and clock repairs. Aubrey Brockhurst, 77 Brent Way, Finchley, London, N.3. (Finchley 640). Buyer of old gold and silver.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connection with, the matter advertised.

NEWS IN BRIEF

THOUSANDS of Swedes telephoned newspaper offices and the radio station with semi-hysterical enquiries for details of the new war, minutes after a radio announcer had said: "Military forces of a Western Power have, without warning, occupied Swedish territory. Sweden is considering allying herself with Russia in the coming struggle."

What was it all about? Swedish Radio were broadcasting a feature programme about Napoleon's attack on Swedish Pomerania in 1812.

At the end of the programme the announcer apologised to listeners for the wording. Nevertheless, one man is threatening to sue the corporation for damages because his wife, who has a weak heart, is ill with shock.

Director of the programme, Dr. Wilhelm Tham, says: "It makes one wonder if we are psychologically prepared for war."

A recently completed survey shows that some million and a half Koreans have already become refugees and the final figure may be double, it is reported from the United Nations. Shortages of food, clothing and shelter, the survey revealed, are already critical, and will become worse as winter approaches.

Experiments are being made at the Harwell atomic research station with an injection which may protect the body against atomic rays. It is a solution of a bitter white chemical called thiourea. According to the journal, *Nature*, promising results were achieved from exposing mice to powerful atomic rays after injection with thiourea. Untreated mice died, while 88 per cent. of the injected mice survived.

Mr. Strachey has replied: "Don't be silly," when asked whether he thought there would be war with Russia. He was speaking to Press correspondents in Berlin, and added that he thought most people agreed that Germany should make some contribution to Western European defence, in cash or kind.

Eastbourne Cadets are falling off in numbers. Sea Cadets now amount to 43 where there were 80 in the war, and the Air Cadets have fallen from 150 to 28. Reasons given for the decline are parental indifference, dislike of discipline and "spoon-feeding" in other organisations where entertainment is provided free. The Brighton "Evening Argus" views this with some anxiety. While they do not want the compulsion of the "Hitler Youth type," they feel there is something to be said for "gingering youngsters," and they deplore the reluctance of youth to equip themselves physically and mentally, not only for their service call up but for life generally.

Pamphlets and posters for use on United Nations Day (Oct. 24) will be distributed from United Nations Association, 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2. Theme for this year is "There shall be Peace."

Dr. Garbett, preaching at York Cathedral recently, said that it would be a Christian action for the more prosperous nations to reduce their standard of living to give relief to the millions now destitute.

Session 4 of the Conference on the Biological Hazards of Atomic Energy, entitled "Atomic Energy and the Future," will be held under the chairmanship of Lord Boyd Orr on Saturday, Oct. 21, at 2.30 at the Royal Institution, 21 Albemarle Street, W.1. Speakers will include Prof. K. Lonsdale, and Prof. J. B. S. Haldane.

The For Christmas Cards

are available

in fact they have been selling since early September and have been warmly received.

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Peace News Campaign

All S. Midlands readers of Peace News should make a point of hearing

Bernard J. Boothroyd

Editor of "Peace News"
"Yaffle" of "Reynolds News"

at a Public Meeting on

PEACE and the PRESS

Saturday, Oct. 21 at 6.0 p.m.

in the

Friends Meeting House
Wellington St., Northampton

Chairman: Rev. H. O. Evans, B.Sc.

Particulars from the organiser:
Alison Coles, 28 Hillside Rd., Wellingborough

"INVASION PREFERABLE TO WAR"

Pacifism in the Press

THE pacifist argument that invasion is preferable to war has evidently made its impression on Fleet Street. Following the widespread notice given recently to Dr. Soper, the Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Barnes), and Rev. Martin Cooper, the Daily Express and the Daily Graphic have now taken up the Rev. Patrick Figgis (PPU speaker and former General Secretary), who said in his Regent Square church magazine:

"I believe that the present war in Korea, and the war preparation taking place everywhere will not be successful in averting war; that they do not in the present situation represent God's way for us. It is not easy to see, I know, how the policy of non-violent resistance, of overcoming evil with good, can be effective in a modern totalitarian state. But if the choice is between war and the spread of Communism (as I believe it is) then I consider that the latter is the lesser of the two evils."

"Every Christian, and indeed, every person who wants to do what is right and best, should in my judgment be a conscientious objector."

Invited by Peace News to comment on the Press reports, Rev. Patrick Figgis writes:

IT is a sad commentary on the Church situation that a small pacifist paragraph by an unknown Minister in his Church magazine should arouse the interest of the daily Press; though since it helps to get one's message to a wider public, I am glad that my paragraph should have done so.

The views expressed were, of course, my own, not necessarily those of my church members.

My contention that war preparation is unlikely for more than a limited period to avert war is not affected to my mind by the outcome of the Korean campaign.

If those in control of the Communist part of the world believe what one imagines that they believe, then their determination to fight on till Communism triumphs everywhere is not lessened by their Korean setback; nor as a result of Korea will they be altered in their willingness as a last resort to engage in war on a world scale if it seems that there is no other means open to them of attaining their ends.

The right choice

Will Communism spread without war, inasmuch as the Western re-armament programme will reduce our standard of living?

It is possible. But if one is right in believing that the choice eventually lies between war and the spread of Communist control without war (because the non-Communist countries decide not to resist by force of arms) then it seems clear that the latter though a terrible prospect, is at least preferable to the former: for war today, though it may be fought to defeat Communism, results in a situation where there is more essential Communism than there was before, and if Communism spreads without military opposition I believe that despite the great difficulties involved, it is still possible for the subjected people to reach the hearts of those in control of them by the spirit of their resistance.

But how far we are from making any impression upon the thought of those around us. What faith and courage are required if men are to go the pacifist way. One wishes, if I may add this, not unkindly, that some of those pacifists, who say they are outside the Church because the Church is not pacifist, would come within those particular churches where pacifism is preached, giving us their encouragement and support.

MEETINGS IN THE PROVINCES

Reports of meetings at Gloucester, Liverpool, Nottingham and Plymouth last weekend will appear in next week's Peace News.

Consultations by appointment

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Peace News Campaign

Bring your friends to hear

Bernard J. Boothroyd

Editor of "Peace News"
"Yaffle" of "Reynolds News"

at a Public Meeting on

PEACE and the PRESS

Thursday, Nov. 9th at 7.30 p.m.

at the

LEEDS FORUM, 113 PARK LANE

Chairman: Rev. J. S. K. Patrick

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AND NOW IN STRIP CARTOON

DID you see the Daily Mirror last week? If not you missed something very exciting.

Even if you are not one of those who turn first to the strip cartoon, those of you who know Hugh Brock, Assistant Editor of Peace News, could hardly fail to find your eye caught by the really remarkable drawing of him on Oct. 5.

There he is, with his fair hair ruffled up just as usual, with his eager eyes and humorous good-natured grin, telling the readers of the Mirror, through that well-known cartoonist balloon issuing from his mouth, that as a conscientious objector he agrees with Bishop Barnes, and though he doesn't know all the answers, he does know, at least, how he ought to react to the "chap with the bayonet."

The "Ruggles" strip cartoon started on the previous day with an introductory strip called "Pacifism not Pessimism" showing a suburban husband ("Ruggles") and wife discussing the Bishop of Birmingham's speech to the British Association, and quoting that mighty peroration, "If the alternative to an atomic war is a pacifism willing to endure and suffer, we should accept it."

What would you do if . . .

On Thursday, Hugh Brock appeared, and the dialogue ran:

A neighbour: "In other words, rather than risk an atomic war, we should all become pacifists, that is?"

"Ruggles": "Yes, and read the end there, (pointing to newspaper paragraph) 'We may lose our lives, but the loss will ultimately be in the service of mankind.'"

Hugh Brock: "That was Bishop Barnes' speech wasn't it? Well, as a conscientious objector I agree with him."

A neighbour: "Steady on Mr. Brock! Supposing everyone said that, supposing we were invaded, what then?"

Hugh Brock: "I'd try to establish some common bond of humanity between myself and the invader by trying to eliminate fear, that is, fear of one another."

A neighbour: "And suppose a bloke was coming at you with a bayonet, would you still say that?"

Hugh Brock: "I don't know, I only know that's how I ought to react, with more pacifists, there'd be less fear and consequently less chance of war."

The ex-Serviceman on Friday said that he thought that all soldiers were pacifists at heart in the sense that they regarded themselves as preventers of war.

Asked which it is to be: either you "love your neighbour as yourself" and don't fight, or you stand up for your way of life, he replied, "The answer is in not allowing the question to arise; in other words if we put our own house in order, then we shan't be attacked."

Other strips have appeared since and the debate continues as we go to press.

Back-stage at U.N.

(continued from page one)

far off—hence their unusual restraint and determination."

As for affairs in South-East Asia, Mr. Fliegers says Communist "activators" have been trying for further coups in Burma, Indo-China, Siam and Malaya with varying success.

"The white man from the West, with the stigma of long exploitation upon him, appears able to do little except carry out 'police action.'"

Pandit Nehru, he says, with his tremendous political and intellectual prestige, is combatting as best he can the idea of kicking out the white man altogether.

To many Asiatics, he adds, Acheson's world-wide land reform policy seemed an astonishing volte face by a government which had backed men like Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai.

But, as Indian Ambassador to Washington, Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Nehru's sister, said to him: "The time is past for us to try to save face. Now we must try to save our necks."

Mrs. Pandit, he adds, has been one of the outstanding personalities in the joint effort of India and the West to recapture Asian confidence.

Enter a terrible Turk

Mr. Fliegers closes on a humorous note.

It is yet to be seen, he says, how far the decisions of diplomats reached at Flushing will affect the great mass of humanity. Sitting amid Klieg lights, television cameras, microphones, and teletypes, one is apt to lose perspective.

That was brought home to this correspondent in the Delegate's Lounge, by a gentleman six feet five in height, with an enormous chest and huge black handle-bar moustache. "I am Yussuf the Turkish wrestler," he announced, "and I have come to see if I can help the delegation of my country."

We explained that Turkey's suave Selim Sarper might not need outside help, but that Russia's Andrei Vishinsky might be in the market for a bodyguard.

"Vishinsky!" Yussuf blustered, "Who's dat?"

Sybil Morrison's CAMPAIGN COLUMN

You know as well as I do that war does involve the soldier in sacrifice and often in the voluntary sacrifice of his life . . . When men may choose between conscription and conscientious objection, and choose the former, they may well do so from a sense of duty which in the ultimate analysis is not very different from an ideal which causes them to be willing to sacrifice their lives for their fellow human beings.

—Letter from an Army Officer, Sept. 1950.

Way, being airborne, has become a general slaughter instead of a butchery of boys; but war's age-long mixture of social lunacy and personal gallantry damnably abides.

—Review of "Journey's End," The Observer, Oct. 8 1950.

A RECENT article in this column, condemning General MacArthur's facile statement that the soldier discloses the "divine attributes of personal self-sacrifice in battle," has brought down some wrath upon my head from an Army officer.

That he is completely sincere, I am sure, but that he is mistaken I am equally sure. He expresses, however, a point of view that is ignorantly, but widely held, and therefore, worth answering publicly.

That war involves the soldier in sacrifice no one would deny, but to suggest, in this day and age, that it is "voluntary sacrifice" is, to say the very least of it, a piece of gross self-deception.

So long as these blinkers against the blinding light of the real truth continue to be used, so will war continue to be glamourised, and people mesmerised into believing that because there is often gallantry in war, war itself is gallant, and something willingly undertaken by young men prepared to sacrifice, not only their way of living, but life itself in a great cause.

But do they choose?

The real truth is that men do not, in fact, choose between conscription and conscientious objection; the vast majority of boys of "call-up" age go like silly sheep, necessarily to slaughter, because often the soldier is in a much safer position than the civilian in the "air-borne" battles of today, but still, willy-nilly.

At least two-thirds of them probably never heard of conscientious objection, and if they had would scarcely know what it meant, and certainly not what it entailed. If it were explained to them, the chances are that they would instinctively shy away from taking a step that was not in line with the majority; like boys at school (and, after all they are not very long out of school) they would be far too self-conscious, and much too afraid of being dubbed a coward.

It is not just a simple choice—conscription or conscientious objection—for registration as a conscientious objector is not automatic freedom from military service. It is merely an application to state a case in a tribunal, whose business it is to decide whether the objection is a true one of conscience, or not.

On the battle-field, faced with danger and death, many conscripts may behave with gallantry and courage, just as many conscientious objectors did under bombardment in the prisons, and in rescuing their fellows from fire and collapsed buildings, during the raids on this country. The soldier is praised and decorated for his bravery; the conscientious objector is ignored.

The boy who decides to risk the scorn and calumny of society, and his fellows, must be very sure of himself and his cause, and it is this understanding of the reasons for his actions which is the essential difference between the conscript and the conscientious objector.

If men freely chose to join the Services from a sense of duty and idealism there would be no need for conscription at all; that they do nothing of the kind is the real answer to "Army Officer's" attempt to glorify war through the gallantry of slaves.

Where there are men and women, the world over there will be found examples of all the good instincts of the human race: courage, fortitude, kindness, willing self-sacrifice; it is time these "divine attributes" were given to the pursuit of peace, so that war should be stripped of its glamour and revealed for what it is, a sin against God and man.

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